

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NEW DE 14016 181610Z

66

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /026 W

----- 037447

R 181520Z OCT 74

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4631

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

USMISSION IAEA VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L NEW DELHI 14016

EXDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, TECH, IN

SUBJECT: NO CHANGE IN INDIAN NUCLEAR POSITION

1. IN A CONVERSATION ON OCTOBER 15 WITH AN EMBASSY OFFICER, THE NEA DISARMAMENT EXPERT (K.P.JAIN) WHO HAS BEEN PREPARING THE GOI POSITION PAPERS FOR THE MEETINGS WITH SECRETARY WAS DECIDEDLY PESSIMISTIC. HE SAW NO POSSIBILITY FOR AGREE-MENT ON THE NON-PROLIFERATION ISSUE. THE GOI WOULD BE PREPARED, HE SAID, TO GIVE A PRIVATE UNDERTAKING NOT TO EXPORT NUCLEAR EXPLOSION TECHNOLOGY, BUT THER COULD BE NO PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT OF THAT UNDERTAKING.

2. QUESTIONED AS TO THE ROLE INDIA MIGHT BE WILLING TO PLAY IN COOPERATION WITH ESTABLISHED NUCLEAR STATES TO LIMIT FURTHER PROLIFERATION, THE EXPERT COULD NOT OR WOULD NOT GIVE ANY MEANINGFUL ANSWER. HE INSISTED INDIA'S EFFORT WAS PEACEFUL AND THAT THE GOI WOULD NOT OPT FOR A WEAPONS PROGRAM. SOMEWHAT RUEFULLY HE ADMITTED THE GOI'S PRESENT POSITION IMPOSED HEAVY BURDENS. HE SAID THE CES-SATION OF THE CANADIAN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM WOULD SET BACK THE INDIAN ENERGY PROGRAM BY TWO OR THREE YEARS.

3. IN A CONVERSATION WITH ANOTHER EMBASSY OFFICER OCT.12, JAIN SAID THAT ONLY A "POLITICAL DECISION" (NOT AN MEA
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NEW DE 14016 181610Z

DECISION) COULD INDUCE INDIA TO PARTICIPATE IN THE 1975 NPT

REVIEW WITH SECOND CLASS "OBSERVER" STATUS.

4. COMMENT: THE EMBASSY HAS MAINTAINED A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH JAIN OVER THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS. WE HAVE FOUND HIM SOBER AND RELIABLE. HIS CONCLUSION THAT THERE ARE IRRECONCILIABLE DIFFERENCES IN INDO-US NUCLEAR POLITICS IS NOT NEW. WE ARE IN NO POSITION TO DEFINE WHAT CONSTITUTES "NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE TECHNOLOGY." WE NOTE THE INDIANS MADE A SIMILAR OFFER TO THE CANADIANS, AND HAVE DISCUSSED THE SUBJECT WITH THE BRITISH. IN SOME FORUM THE TERM IS GOING TO HAVE TO BE DEFINED WITH PRECISION.

5. WE HAVE SEEN FEW IF ANY REAL SIGNS OF FLEXIBILITY IN THE INDIAN POSITION. AMBASSADOR TAPE'S CONVERSATIONS IN SEPTEMBER WITH DR. SETHNA IN VIENNA (VIENNA 8281) AND SENATOR PERCY'S TALK WITH MADAME GANDHI ON AUGUST 24 ARE THE ONLY INDICATIONS WE HAVE TO DATE THAT THERE MAY BE SOME GIVE IN THE GOI POSITION. IF THERE IS ANY DEPARTURE, THAT DECISION HAS NOT FILTERED DOWN TO THE WORKING LEVEL.

6. HAVING NO INSTRUCTIONS, I HAVE TRIED NOT TO APPEAR TO PRESS THIS ISSUE ON THE INDIANS. I HAVE ASSUMED INDIAN FEARS COULD ONLY BE AROUSED BY THE EMBASSY PROWLING ABOUT THE PERIPHERY OF THE PROBLEM. ANY SERIOUS RELATION CAN ONLY BEGIN IN A CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE SECRETARY. HOWEVER, I WOULD ALERT ALL TO THE EXTREME SENSITIVITY OF THE INDIANS ON THIS SUBJECT. THEY ARE GOING TO INSIST ON EQUALITY, AND IT IS SIMPLY THE FACT THAT WE HAVE NO EQUALITY TO OFFER THEM. THE PRESENT REGIME OF INTERNATIONAL CONTROL IS ONE OF INEQUALITY. THERE IS NO WAY IT CAN BE SQUARED WITH INDIAN SENSITIVITIES. NOBODY IS TO BLAME FOR THIS. HISTORY DID IT. BUT WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO BE CONSIDERABLY MORE CREATIVE THAN WE HAVE BEEN LATELY IF WE ARE GOING TO GET THE INDIANS TO COOPERATE WITH US. FOR ONE THING WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO FIGURE OUT HOW TO HAVE IT APPEAR THAT WE ARE NOT THE ONLY ONES HOPING FOR SOME ARRANGEMENT WITH INDIA. WE HAVE DONE WELL ENOUGH SO FAR BY SIMPLY NOT SAYING ANYTHING. BUT THE MOMENT WE DO, WE WILL BE THE FIRST NUCLEAR POWER TO HAVE DONE. AN UNEVIABLE TASK.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NEW DE 14016 181610Z

7. FOR WHAT IT IS WORTH, TALK OF INDIA'S DEVELOPING NUCLEAR WEAPONS GROWS MORE OPEN IN NEW DELHI. I HAD A SMALL GROUP OF EDITORS TO LUNCH TODAY. ALL QUITE FRIENDLY TO THE UNITED STATES AND ON EXCELLENT TERMS WITH THE EMBASSY. SINGH OF THE STATESMAN SAID IT WAS OBVIOUS INDIA WOULD "GO NUCLEAR" AND THAT NO ONE COULD ASK IT NOT TO DO WHAT CHINA HAD DONE. THERE WAS NO HEAR IN HIS REMARKS. HE WAS SIMPLY STATING WHAT HE TOOK IT ALL WOULD AGREE WAS OBVIOUS. ALL BUT ONE OF THE GUESTS DID.

ONLY GEORGE VERGHESE OF THE HINDUSTAN TIMES TOOK EXCEPTION,
ARGUING THAT IT WAS AT LEAST POSSIBLE INDIA WOULD ACT
DIFFERENTLY. VERGHESE, AS ALL INDIA KNOWS, HAS BEEN FIRED
FROM HIS JOB BY THE OWNER OF THE HINDUSTAN TIMES K.K.BIRLA,
AT THE BEHEST OF THE PRIME MINISTER.
MOYNIHAN

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: NPT, NUCLEAR AGREEMENTS, NUCLEAR CAPABILITIES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 18 OCT 1974
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974NEWDE14016
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740297-0778
From: NEW DELHI
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19741036/aaaabeab.tel
Line Count: 121
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 26 MAR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <26 MAR 2002 by elyme>; APPROVED <22 MAY 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NO CHANGE IN INDIAN NUCLEAR POSITION
TAGS: PFOR, TECH, IN, US, (JAIN, K P)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005